Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Fire.—For several generations the *Chiriguano* and *Chané* have used steel and flint for making fire. The fire drill is, however, remembered in their mythology.

Weapons.—The *Chiriguano* bow has an average length of 4 feet (1.2 m.); the stave is flat on the belly and convex on the back. Both ends are sharpened to prevent the string of twisted hide from slipping. Arrows are tipped with carefully barbed rods, with two rods barbed along the outer edges, (fig. 59, *b*) with flat lanceolate heads, or with a conical knob (bird arrow). The arrows armed with two diverging rods are used to shoot large birds, such as the yacu (*Penelope* sp.). Fishing arrows of the *Chané* bristle with cactus thorns. Today arrows ending in a sharp wooden rod are rare, as the modern arrows are usually tipped with heavy wires. The shafts are made of cultivated reeds (*Arundo donax*). Formerly, the *Chané* used the uva grass (*Gynerium sagittatum*). Feathering, which is of the cemented type, is sometimes omitted.

The clubs of the *Chiriguano* in the 17th century were short and ended in a flat, oval head, a shape somewhat related to the ancient *Tupinamba* club. These clubs have disappeared (only a single specimen could be obtained in 1929 by Métraux) and have been replaced by simple cudgels that serve only to knock down wild pigs.

Chiriguano in direct contact with the *Quechua* have woolen slings; those living farther to the east have slings made of caraguatá fibers, which they use mainly to chase birds from the fields. The pellet bow is common among the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*, but is merely a toy for boys.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Originally, the *Chiriguano* community consisted of a few extended families or lineages, strictly patrilineal. Modern villages are composed of many small biological families bound by relationship ties or by their allegiance to a common chief.

Chiriguano chiefs (mburubicha) of old were men distinguished by their courage, their eloquence, and often by their magic power. They enjoyed considerable prestige and held no little authority. Some of them (tubicha rubicha) extended their influence over a wide area and were recognized as a supreme chief by the local chieftains. The main function of a chief was to settle quarrels within the village, to punish thieves, to see that people worked in the fields at the proper time, to arrange feasts, and to lead his men in war. Chiefs also had right of eminent domain over the land. Sometimes a chief was assisted by an informal council consisting of shamans and of the oldest and bravest men of the community. As a rule, a chief, even if he was powerful, led the same type of life as any of his subjects; in recent time some chiefs had servants. Some aristocratic pride was evidenced by the members of their family.

Nordenskiöld E-5/4 (1908-1909, 1912) 1930
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

C. *Cultural Elements which the Chané and Chiriguano have got from the Mataco, Toba, and other tribes in the Gran Chaco.*

C
Ce
177

The Chané and Chiriguano have presumably not learnt much from their neighbours the Choroti, Toba, Mataco, and Tapiete, whose chief domestic industry is the caraguatá work, in which they have developed an astonishing skill. As we saw in Part I of this work, they have various different kinds of knitting, sewing, and plaiting. The Chiriguano and Chané, on the other hand, do very little caraguatá work, and the technique of their knitting is without much variety. I consider it likely that they learnt from the Chaco Indians the use of the bowstring made of shreds of hide, landing-nets of the type used here, the wooden needle with the line for stringing fish, the skin rug, the forked wooden spit, the use of the resin of palo santo for painting earthen vessels, and possibly the bat and ball game.

It is clear that more civilized Indians like the Chiriguano and Chané, when they come in contact with more primitive Indians, like the Mataco, Tapiete, and Choroti, do not imitate their ornaments, clothes, etc. I have already pointed this out in Part I. We must bear in mind that the Mataco sometimes work as servants for the Chané, and the Tapiete for the Chiriguano.[1] These more cultured tribes would be more inclined to recognise the warlike Toba Indians as their likes.[2]

C
Ce
[357]
[563]

[1] Among the Chiriguano (it does not exist among the Chané) it is characteristically only a boys' game, whereas among the less civilised tribes, the Mataco, Choroti etc., it is indulged in by grown-up men.

[2] Nordenskiöld (3).

Ee 622 643 554

/230 cont./

The chiefs' families form a sort of aristocracy among the Chiriguano and Chané. Several times I heard Indians boast about their good family connections. A Chiriguano who accompanied me for some time as an interpreter was eager to impress upon me that he was related to the most famous high chiefs.

Just as the author of this book is customarily introduced as the son of Adolf Nordenskiöld, so the Indians were wont to introduce in similar fashion the sons of their "great men."

I even discovered a bit of deception in connection with the family tree. A Chané claimed direct descent from the great Hinu Parava, which, however, is said to be untrue.

If one wishes to find beautiful things from olden times among these Indians, one must first look for them in the chiefs' families. They keep the old treasures.

Ee [177]

More and more the white authorities are beginning to appoint the chiefs. Thus, in one region one can find a chief supported by the whites and a legitimate one.

Ee 622 423 122 643

The chiefs have great power, and, as far as I could see, they are always obeyed, in contrast to conditions among the Choroti and Ashluslay. They own the land (at least in certain regions), not for themselves, but for the tribe. If one needs porters in a Chané or Chiriguano village, one gets them from the chief, and no Indian will refuse to carry out the orders of the chief.

Ce 622 643

Although the chief has such great influence, /231/ he nevertheless works in the same way as the other Indians. Vocapoy himself, for example, carried home the heavy wood for cooking the maize beer, and his wife had to cook and sweep, like the other women. Following the example of the whites, however, a few of the most civilized and wealthy Indians, such as Taco, now have servants from their own tribe, but this was not done originally. On the other hand, as I have mentioned elsewhere, it is not unusual for the Mataco-Vejos and the Tapiete to work for the Chiriguano and Chané.

Ee [359] [177] Ee 177 464

Ce 622 643 431 123

When we came home to Vocapoy's village from hunting and shared our booty with the chief /Fig. 115 appears here/, his wife accepted everything, but then went around to the houses and gave her neighbors everything that she had received.